

CONFEDERATION

BY THE

SITUATION

IN WHICH

IRELAND IS MURDERED

BY THE

CONFEDERATION

OF

CONFEDERATION

Dear Lawyer,

It is hard to find your name in the list of the members of the
Confederation, and will you kindly let me know if you are a
member, the name of the county or town you are from, and
whether you are a member of the Executive Committee.

Yours truly,

John B. Kelly

THE
THERAPEUTIC



ADVERTISEMENT... .

FROM a pamphlet, the sheets of which were sent to the press as fast as they were written, much accuracy of composition cannot be expected. At a future day a much more enlarged view of the conduct, and consequences of the conduct of the late Irish Government, will be laid before the public.

FOR three months a rebellion has openly existed in this country. This rebellion, though its principles had been inculcated, and its plan had been formed some time previous to the arrival of Lord Camden, received a considerable addition both of force and order during his lordship's administration. The danger to the kingdom was increased by an invasion, threatened and prepared by a formidable foreign enemy.

From the time of the reports of the Secret Committees of both Houses of Parliament, Government were in possession of proof of the nature of the rebel principles, and of the means accumulated to carry them into effect. Government declared its determination of punishing the rebellion of its subjects, and of repelling the invasion of its enemy, *by arms*. No time was lost in application to Parliament for the necessary supply; and Parliament, notwithstanding the vehemence with which, by a particular party in both kingdoms, all measures of *coercion* were reprobated, and those of *conciliation* recommended, granted every supply, and enacted every law which the military information, and the political wisdom of our rulers demanded or suggested. Wielding without control the natural and political force of the kingdom, administration declared itself prepared for the utmost exigency of events.

The rebellion broke out, and has marched its progress like Attila, who boasted that the ground never grew where his horse had tread. In

without controul, been applied by the military skill of the state.

The rebellion is NOT SUPPRESSED.

A state paper has appeared, which, notwithstanding some awkward, if not ridiculous circumstances, under which it labours, must be considered soberly as a leading measure of conciliation.

It is now proposed to enquire, whether this first movement towards conciliation, could have been directed either by integrity or prudence. Previous to which, however, it will be necessary to advert to some peculiar characters by which the growth of this rebellion has been marked, and to some of the measures of *coercion* which have been applied to destroy it.

When it is said, that a rebellion exists in this country, the word rebellion must be understood in a particular sense. It can never be intended that all rebellions are equal in the moral scale. It can never be intended to insult the memory of the unhappy Scots rebel of 1745, by any comparison with the Irish rebel of the present day. The rebellion in Scotland was a lamentable sacrifice to misplaced affection, and to ancient, though mistaken loyalty; in which, though it became necessary to punish the act, it was impossible not to pity, if not to respect the principle.

But what are the marks by which the nature of the present rebellion may be known? It is not a rebellion of ancient affection, glowing even in its ashes. It is not a rebellion of those, whose knowledge having extended their views, shewed them consequences fatal to future liberty, from gradual and present abuses. It is not a rebellion of those, whose extent of property might make them feel in their own persons the particular

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a rebellion of the *peasant*, supported by some presbyterian shopkeepers, and led and corrupted by some popish priests. It is a rebellion of the weaver, having re-set in his loom a new web of the constitution, on a new pattern—of the blacksmith, hammering out a new system of government red-hot from his bellows. But it is not a rebellion of the peasant, detached merely from his allegiance and his ordinary obedience to the laws. It is a rebellion of the peasant detached from every virtue of the heart. It is not an attack upon the particular government of this particular country. It is an attack upon every tie of social life that ever existed in any government in the world. It is a course of domestic treachery, of cruel murder, and cowardly assassination.

Now, by what ladder have we mounted to this pinnacle of depravity?

Our progress is to be found in our own laws, and our own conduct. We cannot obliterate the black letter of our own folly in our own statute-book.

Towards the commencement of the present reign, some modern doctrines (which have since spread, and where they have spread have ravaged Europe) were broached, which then took the indefinite name of "liberality of sentiment." The talk and the writing at that time, on this "liberality of sentiment," excited the hopes, though it was too slow to gratify the desires of a certain class of men in this country. Then was born the new idea of quickening the legislature, by mixing a tolerable proportion of *scare* with the "liberality of sentiment." *Riots* were excited through the land, and were alledged to arise from the oppression of the legislative system then existing.

As to punish, instead of to conciliate outrage, is the first and natural thought of brave and prudent men, the 3d George III. ch. 19, was immediately enacted; but being (like many other laws) defectively executed, the evil and the clamour still continued. At length the parliament, satitally for the country, was prevailed on to adopt a system which has since acquired the names of *concession* and *conciliation*. As a commencement of this system, the 13 and 14 George III. ch. 35, was enacted, and enabled a particular class of the king's subjects to testify, by an oath, their allegiance to him.

What followed?

The moment they had sworn allegiance to their King, they renounced their allegiance to their God; and in the same year that gave them the enabling statute above-mentioned, their horrid atrocities produced the necessity of passing the first of the chalking acts.

Oaths have been fatal to the morals of this country, for every man that took the oath of allegiance by day, a wretch took his stand at night, armed with a knife, to maim the king's subjects; and even the unoffending cattle of any subject, noted for his loyalty.

What followed?

Despising the lesson of experience, made uneasy and terrified by unremitting cruelty and outrage, parliament was tempted to another act of *concession*, in order to produce *conciliation*. The 34 and 35 George III. c. 49, was accordingly passed, to enable papists to take leases for 999 years, or five lives.

What followed?

Renewed clamour. The necessity (produced by extended and varied cruelty and outrage) of repealing and extending the riot and chalking

acts. (17 and 18 Geo. III. and 19 and 20 Geo. III.) Then also arose (from the blood spilled by the chalking knife) the modern race of patriots, with their list of grievances and oppressions, and their doctrine of unalienable rights. Napper Tandy,—Henry Grattan,—Wolfe Tone—

What followed?

To disarm the hand of the assassin, and to still the tongue of the patriot, parliament gave the act of 1782. Upon an express stipulation of plenary satisfaction, the papists received a full and perfect equality of *right to property*.

What followed?

The attack directly to establish a *right of power*. The subsequent union of the priest-goaded papist, with the unprincipled atheist and the restless presbyterian. The open avowal of a maxim long acted under, though never before acknowledged; the diabolical assertion, that it is right and moral to take advantage of public and imperial war and calamity, in order to enforce civil and local innovation. A short, but pointed history, of our progress, and arrival at our present state, may be read in the preamble to the 3d Geo. III. ch. 19, and to the act, commonly called the insurrection act. By the preambles to those acts, it appears that our *first* step was irregular riot, and our *last* systematic rebellion. The space between these extremities is filled up by acts of *conciliation*—conceded, first to the pitchfork and the chalking-knife, and latterly to the firelock and the pike.

Having thus slightly traced some of the outlines of our present body of misfortune, by which it appears that the principal end of its formation was anarchy, and the principal means assassination, I return to that period when our government took form.

the existence of the rebellion within the realm. I mean the period when the secret committees of both houses of Parliament made their reports. By these reports it appeared, that a body of 72,000 thousand men were sworn and united in a scheme to overturn the throne and constitution. That they had arrayed themselves in arms, established a regular system of military discipline, subjected themselves to a species of civil government, collected money and large stores of all munitions;—that they had committees of finance and war—which last power had led them into many and direct acts of attack upon the King's troops, and commanded them to many acts of assassination on the King's unarmed and loyal subjects. The contents of these reports, amounting to public and notorious proof of an existing rebellion, acting by force of arms, my Lord Camden most firmly determined to subdue it; and accordingly dispatched into the terrified and outraged provinces—his Majesty's Attorney General, armed with his gown and wig, covered in his front by the Crown Solicitor (Mr. Kemmis), having in his mere divers stores and munitions of parchment, with orders to overcome, subdue, conquer, and put down the aforesaid wicked and nefarious rebellion?

What followed?

Mr. Kemmis grew fat and rich—the Attorney General became melancholy and ashamed—the judges were disgraced and insulted—the juries chose to be perjured rather than to be murdered—the assassins were acquitted, and the witnesses were assassinated.

It had been some time before mentioned to my Lord Camden, by a nobleman of good sense and quick conception, that, "if his excellency gave

gave us liberty to go to *law* with them, the ill of the contest could be foreseen without the aid of any peculiarly enlightened understanding. My Lord Camden, at the time this observation was made, conceived it to be some joke; and, as he did not find any clause in his patent direction to unravel the wit of his Majesty's subjects, he smiled, as is usual; but after this defeat of His Majesty's Attorney General, the odd *juxta-position* of the words *war* and *laws*, jingled on his memory, and he determined to ponder on the matter, and perhaps to ask the noble Lord, who made this observation, for his assistance to explain it. In this state of ponderation, his excellency continued proceeding from the Castle to the Park, and from the Park to the Castle, going to *take the air* every day at two o'clock, as has been usual for every Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to perform; and sometimes relieving the dulness of these cares of state, by going to Moore-above to shoot cocks, until authentic information was received, that on the 23d of April the Castle of Dublin was to be surprised, the person of the Lord Lieutenant seized, and that this surprise and seizure was to be aided by a previous setting fire to different parts of the capital, and a massacre of the principal inhabitants.

What followed?

His Excellency became firm and resolute. With the most consummate prudence he determined to postpone an investigation into the meaning of his noble friend's joke until an opportunity of more leisure. With infinite resolution and spirit he barricadoed the Castle-yard, placed artillery (slow match lighted) at the gates, and committed the care of the rest of the capital to God and the Yeomanry.

(112)

and he could; You may forgive the capital, and
the Commonwealth, when you see it to be
so. V. 23
while Lord Gondón was deeply employed in
considering what was to be done, the rebels, by the
guidance of God and the spirit of the yeomanry,
having been disappointed in their plan of
taking the city, broke out into general insurtec-
tion. Lord Gondón then consulted his cabinet,
and asked, *what was to be done?* His Excellency
had humbly advised that, as the rebels had ~~commenced~~
commenced the war on their part, it would be prudent
for His Excellency to commence the war on his
part; which advice (as his Excellency could not
see any alternative) he, with a firmness and
resolution becoming his character, determined to
execute. According his Excellency issued orders
not to the Attorney-General) for the com-
mencement of the war.

And here, having brought both parties to an
issue of war, I feel and lament, the advantage
which Caesar enjoyed, of being able to combine
the talents of a soldier and an historian. I cannot
enter into military detail; and if I could, I fear
the majority of my readers would not receive
such information from my labours. Ordinary
men can only judge of causes by their effects;
they consider him as the victor who quietly en-
joys the power; and they humbly conceive that
those opposing possession and obstinate conti-
nence, conquest and subjugation cannot be said
to be equal. By this plain rule, and by applying
any man's ordinary information to the measure-
ment of the relative forces of both parties, I
have, to try the wisdom of the leaders of each.
My Lord Gondón commenced the war with a
military force of about eight thousand men

and the ~~whole~~ ^{whole} ~~country~~ ^{country} in the same state of ~~anarchy~~ ^{anarchy} and ~~despair~~ ^{despair}—of untamed spirit, and untempered valour. Any man who, in this speculating time, walked the streets of Dublin, and saw the rugged squires, to which the laborious days and sleepless nights of Lieutenant General Pakenham had reduced his person—who saw the quantity of tobacco spit-chewed, and heard the volumes of amphibious oaths he uttered, in stimulating the body of his troops under his command, must admit that every exertion was apparently made to put this tremendous body of ordnance into motion. On the side of the enemy, the insurrection was ~~as~~ ^{as} it had been expected, ~~overcome~~ ^{overcome} and it was not as it had been expected, aided by the arrival of any foreign force, or of any foreign troops, arms, or ammunition. The north of Ireland, from whence the greatest danger, as to numbers of men, provision, of arms, and forwardness of discipline, was to be apprehended, remained, in one instance, and soon quelled, unperceived and disturbed. In the west not the sound of riot was heard, and the south west no motion of importance was undertaken. The field for the employment of the talents of Lord Compton, and of the four those millions directed, was limited to the county of Meath, Westmeath, and some districts of Meath, Carlow, and Kilkenny; which all were unperceived by the enemy of their situation. Hence by the 21st instant, the ~~whole~~ ^{whole} ~~country~~ ^{country} was ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ a state of ~~anarchy~~ ^{anarchy} and ~~despair~~ ^{despair}.

Look'd from the wrecks on the coast, music in her
array.

What followed?

O! for a muse of fire, that wou'd ascend
The brightest heaven of invention!
A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!
Then shou'd the warlike Camden, like himself,
Adorn the post of Mars.

The city of Dublin, the capital of the kingdom, the grand depot of military stores, and ~~more~~—the residence of the representative of the king himself, was actually in a state of blockade for above a fortnight,—all communication between it and the south, south-west, and south-east parts of the kingdom was actually cut off—~~the~~ parts of the fairest, most decorated, and most fertile parts of the surrounding country ravaged.—the buildings consumed by fire,—the provisions carried off or destroyed, and the wretched loyal inhabitants put to death with circumstances of cruelty too dreadful to contemplate.

Fortunately the active spirit, and unceasing watchfulness of the yeomanry, kept the capital itself in profound peace and left my Lord Camden time to consider what was to be done.

His Excellency having taken time to consider what was to be done, opened a communication with his troops near the Curragh of Kildare, and by a combination of well considered manœuvres, caused a body of about four thousand rebels to be surrounded. His Excellency upon this first and successful success of his arms, with a magnanimity, which it is hoped may hereafter be considered unimpeachable,—let the whole body of rebels go about their business. Fortune seemed peculiarly to fa-

over his Excellency at that moment; but these rebels, with the most unrelenting fury, both before and after their captivity, burnt and destroyed whatever came within their power, yet during the whole time they were in possession of Lord Camden's troops, " *Turne sithow* "

" *AND REPENTANCE SERVED COMPLIANT.*"

It is true, that the whole effect which probably was expected from this magnanimous conduct of his Excellency, did not follow. The rebels obstinately kept possession of the town of Kildare, and by that possession still cut off the former communication; but General Sir James Dundas, fortunately, on this occasion, saved his Excellency the trouble of taking time to consider what was to be done, and, by a march of unequalled rapidity from Limerick, arrived at Kildare, drove the rebels out of the town, and thus raised, for the time, the blockade of Dublin.

During these transactions other bodies of rebels had ravaged the whole county of Wexford, — had destroyed some of the principal towns, — had commenced their massacre of the protestant inhabitants, by putting them to the pike; but the method being tedious, they had proceeded to enclose them in barns, and burn them by division.

As soon as the state of affairs in Wexford had been laid before his Excellency, he immediately proceeded to take time to consider what was to be done, and then determined to send troops to Wexford.

The hopes of the war were centered on the success of the expedition to Wexford; and it was determined to surround the rebels by superior

skill and superior force, as to render all resistance impotent, and all relief impracticable. Frigates were stationed to prevent the escape of those rebels by sea, and their own boats were burnt to prevent even the possibility of such an attempt.

The blockade being complete behind, the troops were collected, and the columns ordered in advance from different points to a common centre. The chosen column, which was to advance through the most difficult country, was led by Lord Camden's special order under the command of Colonel Walpole. This officer had collected a mind well adapted by nature to the manipulation of such materials, with a prodigious quantity of military information, which he had collected in the Upper Castle-yard in the Aid camps room, and in the various *sittings* which he had the honour of taking from two to five o'clock with his Excellency.

Colonel Walpole set forward. "Hope elevated, and joy brightened his crest." The eyes of a small nation anxiously followed. COLONEL WALPOLE in a wild Irish mountain called Sleeveney, was surrounded—killed—his column defeated, his artillery and stores taken—by the *sappers* of FATHER DUMPHY.

What followed?

If the columns of troops which depended mutually on each other for support, some were ordered to fall back, and others to remain stationary, until his Excellency should take time to consider what was to be done.

Soon after the troops from England arrived at Bandonford. With this timely succour to his army thousand men, Lord Camden was enabled after having taken time to consider what was to be done, to order the column again to move for-

What followed?

The outposts of these ragged barbarians, who were without artillery to resist artillery, were driven in, and in about one month from the time the rebels had first seized Wexford, the King's troops encamped on the heights above the town, when the rebels very prudently withdrew, and took up their quarters over the bridge of Wexford, and some miles beyond, in the Barony of Forth. The King's troops found the ground where marks of the most dreadful devilry and massacre. Into the Barony of Forth, and over the bridge of Wexford, it remains to be discovered, whether the rebels went home or defeated. Here ends the campaign of Wexford, and the ostensible administration of the King's forces in Ireland. See the account of the rebellion in the Barony of Forth, in the *Camden*.

His Excellency having thus demonstrated to all mankind, that "it was in the power of His Majesty's generals, and of the forces under his command, entirely to destroy all those who had risen against their sovereign and his laws," whenever they should think proper to perform the threatened destruction. The public were congratulated by all his Excellency's friends on his good fortune, in having been able to terminate the rebellion, without the horrid necessity of subduing the rebels. His Excellency having thus left scarcely any thing to do, but to treat and to conciliate, descended to the water edge in a splendor of military triumph, which Marius, after he had overthrown the Giubris, would have looked at with envy, leaving Lord Cornwallis to enjoy, if he can, the secondary honours of an *ovation*, which appeared in the Lord Cornwallis's

over the continent, and
already composed by
him, could hardly be expected
to be the work of Lord Cornwallis
was to be his sole pursuit.

To examine this first act of
his government, I cannot
but remark the singular fatality which fre-
quently attends. The circumstance
which is most evident is that Lord Camden,
not a military man in any sense
had been sent here to fight and to
negotiate; and that Lord Cornwallis,
a military man in every sense of the
word, and not till then) have been
sent to make a treaty of peace with the
United States, project of which treaty it ap-
peared to be so singular, that the status
quo should be adopted as a foundation.

It is difficult to reflect on Lord Cornwallis's
character, or on his experience of its
various scenes, at York-town—the negoti-
ation. At the first he had been
a conqueror; and he was a conqueror; and
his talents were unim-
paired, and his mind with him,
but bound by the opinion
of the conduct of his
country, and the conduct of
the United States, of the
conduct of the American army.

enemy, as he was in whom there
mainly however, in whom there
class of qualities, of which
from his experience, could
not be admitted, he had to negoti-
brian enemy, as infatiate of blood
in treachery as either Tippoo-Saib

The state paper to which I have
which is the only material act of
without having been considered
Dublin Gazette on Tuesday
been printed by the King's printer
through the news-papers for
Without signature, or counter-
to be regarded as authentic.
was to be discovered by the
cross, and, without title, it was
as a proclamation*.

The first sentence contains
"it is in the power of his Majesty
of the forces under their command
destroy" all those who have
etc. Now, this assertion is
false.

If it be true, how has it
come to the time of such an
idle publication, and how
pert, that the capital of
again reduced to a state of
and insurrection, and
tirely out of hand in other

* Sir B. H. has made the best
of this paper, and has given

from blood, from fire, from sword, from insinuation:—that the remainder of the town of Athlone has again submitted to the rebels, and been totally reduced to ashes;—that the towns of Athlone, and Athlone, and Carnew, have all been burnt, and all nearly destroyed;—that the whole face of the fertile country, whereon these unfortunate towns did exist, the inhabitants have been swept off, and nothing left for our troops to protect: but the lime and stone, part of the towns which, fortunately, were not physically subject to the action of fire:—but has it happened that, while I have been writing, and within the very view of your City and its suburbs, the houses of peaceable men have been attacked, their persons put to the torture, and their property carried off? How has it happened, that at this moment, large bands of undisciplined assassins, menace your proud city from the adjoining hills—that detachments, to the number of some thousands, have crossed from the southern hills through the county of Kildare, to the county of Meath; and have seized on strong posts there, and in the northern part of the county of Dublin; from which no account is yet arrived of their having been dislodged? Can such a series of transactions have passed, and can such an assertion, as that contained in the same paper, be true? I leave it to Parliament, on Wednesday next, to enquire.

The next remarkable feature in the production referred to, is the privilege of protection which it vouches to the assassins in rebellion assembled. It promises, (upon certain conditions) that "they shall receive a certificate which will entitle them to protection."

What is the certificate? The first and best

Whether the corporal, as a lawyer, was right in his judgment, and as an honest man was right in his conduct, I leave it to the wisdom of the court (which, no doubt, the welfare of the public will induce to do) to determine.

contains the oath of allegiance, and then calls upon the wretched and deceived culprit, to " renounce and abjure all oaths and engagements of every kind whatsoever, which are in any degree *contrary* thereto." Did the unblushing compiler of this violation of all principle and decency, know what the *abjuration* of an *oath* is? Did he know, that it is to swear to commit perjury?—to swear to be *forsworn*?—Does he conceive that an instrument which renounces and derides the strength of all moral obligation, derived from the sanctity of an *oath*,—which obliges the polluted soul to swear, that his attestation before his God, shall not be as any bond whatsoever?—Does he conceive, I say, that such a corrupted lump of mutually repelling materials, can ever be the cement of future peace, good-will, and mutual confidence among men? Circling the globe, from the *professing* disciples of Confucius, and thence westward to the *feeling* Peruvian children of the sun, on what altar did he find such an offering, except on that of the Goddess of Reason in the Champ de Mars:—

They say the state is full of cozenage—
As nimble jugglers that deceive the eye,
Disguised cheaters, prating mountebanks,
And many such like libertines of sin.

SHAKSPEARE.

One circumstance I had forgotten: I am told, that the deluder has been deluded. I am told, that the wary rebel has taken advantage of this protection—that he has come in, even to the city of Dublin—taken this city—crossed his protection, and then descended with a few hundred of his adherents, *convention*, and *united* to the rebel camp. As a proof of this, I have

killed, and taken in the act of fighting the King's troops, with these certificates of protection in their pockets.

The public must not, cannot conceive that state paper to be the production of Lord Cornwallis, or that he had any connexion with it, except that it was published immediately after his arrival, as a sort of continuation of the former system. Lord Cornwallis had not time to become acquainted with any of the matters which the paper states as existing facts. He must have trifled as to facts to those whom he thought had some degree of political information; and as to forms, he would probably rely on those officers of forms, who were introduced to him as possessing some degree of civil experience, and some share of moral decency. The paper, therefore, I consider as the act of the former government.

I have now travelled through the several experiments which have been made by the late administration on this unhappy country :

First, to govern it by LAWS;

Next, to coerce it by ARMS;

And lastly, to conciliate it by PARDON.

It will be for the wisdom of Parliament to decide, whether there has been a sufficiency of legal strictness displayed in the first,—of military energy in the second,—and of sober, well-timed mercy in the last? Or whether, on the contrary, the skill of the lawyers has not been baffled, and the gallant spirit of the army hemmed in by the torpid influence of an inert government, in the first and second instances? And in the last, whether that government, instead of the slow and dignified march of mercy and power combined, has not exhibited an anxious and premature desire to get rid of the hazards of present war, at the expense of such severity and despatch.

Well I suppose why these questions are asked is because the Government already decided to do away with the House of Lords. The House of Commons has passed a bill to do away with the House of Lords. It is now up to a departing Viceregal Commission to decide whether the House of Commons has the right to do away with the House of Lords. The House of Commons has already decided, it is now up to the Viceregal Commission to decide whether the House of Commons is competent to review its own decisions.

These questions have been therefore put. The Government has been therefore made, and we have a reasonable hope that what is proposed of in a despatch box, in a chamber without doors, may by being carried out, go a long way to the abolition of the House of Lords.

It is now up to the Viceregal Commission to decide whether the House of Commons has the right to do away with the House of Lords.

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